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231 injures the domestic pig of one of his neighbors, he must pay
224 an indemnity. It is not an easy task to teach dogs to make this discrimination, and for this reason a good hunting dog
231 is highly valued. Dogs are also used as food, but no one will
[262] eat the flesh of a dog owned by a member of his family. To do
[608] so, they believe, would be almost equivalent to cannibalism, since dogs are referred to as the son or daughter of the owner and by kin terms appropriate to this relationship by other
[262] members of the family. Dog meat is therefore used only for
[766] ceremonial and trading purposes. If a dog dies a natural death, the women of the household may wail and watch over the body as though it were human. The corpse is formally disposed of by suspending it in a net bag from the limb of a tree in the forest.

412 Adults are responsible for making the tools and utensils
[885] which are indispensable in the production of food. The adz[a] is the Kwoma tool of all work, and is essential in gardening, the production of sago flour, and butchering, as well as in the manufacture of many of the special tools used in the vari-
[462] ous economic pursuits. It is made and used only by men. The technique of adz construction need not concern us here, except to say that there is little variation in the haft, or handle, and that there are two types of lashing, plain and fancy. Only a few men learn to do the fancy lashing, and they can readily trade an adz lashed in this manner for shell money.
[177] The celt for an adz was formerly of ground stone; today plane irons obtained from the whites are used exclusively.

415 The large net bag of the women is as essential in economic
[482] activities as is the adz. It is used to carry seeds and tools to the garden, to bring back the harvest, to transport sago flour from the swamp, to carry a pig after it has been butchered,
[462] and to bring firewood to the dwelling. This container is used
[286] only by women and is netted by them. Since these bags must be replaced frequently, a woman spends much of her spare time manufacturing them.[b]

[a] The adz is also essential in activities not directly associated with hunger, such as housebuilding and gong making.

[b] As was stated in the previous chapter, a girl learns this technique during adolescence.

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dangerous. Children compensate for the taboo against the use of real spears by playing several dart-throwing games. A favorite sport of this type consists in tossing a pawpaw[9] up a slope and attempting to transfix it with a sharpened bamboo dart as it bounds down. In another common game, children toss a rock into the air and try to hit it with stones before it falls to the ground. As a result of such games, they become very adept at hitting moving objects, a habit which stands them in good stead when they become old enough to go pig-hunting.

Kwoma children participate in caring for the domesticated animals of their parents. They are given a small pig of their own to tend which they must feed, habituate to the dwelling, and teach to come at their call. Parents often give their child a puppy to pet and care for. A child calls his pets by the kinship term for *son* or *daughter;* the other members of the family refer to the pet by kin terms which accord with this relationship.

Fishing is considered by the Kwoma rather as a sport than as a serious activity. Girls participate in what little is done, often simply scooping fish from a swamp pool or mountain stream with their hands. Although men do not deign to waste their time fishing, boys sometimes accompany their mothers and sisters to the stream and join in the fun. Even as children, however, they feel that they somewhat demean themselves by doing this.

Children watch their parents make tools but do little such work themselves. Boys sometimes help their parents by fetching materials for various utensils, and girls begin netting bags before they reach adolescence, but otherwise toolmaking is restricted to older persons.

In general, the Kwoma child discovers that it is necessary to work to get food, and learns, in part by observation and in part by participation, the techniques that have been developed in the culture for producing it. He is forced to assume responsibility for some of this work, is allowed to help with

[9] A tropical fruit about the size, shape, and consistency of a small muskmelon.

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pig. He managed to drive his spear into the side of a wild boar but the animal charged at him. Nowel sidestepped the beast but the handle of the spear struck him and gave him an ugly bruise on the forehead. The day after this experience he stopped at my house. Yat, Wof, and War happened to be present and asked Nowel how he had come by the bruise. When he told them, they blamed him instead of sympathizing. They said that it was a wonder that he had not been killed and asked him if he thought that he was already a man that he should have attempted such a thing.

Adolescent boys are not expected to make the tools necessary for their economic pursuits. Although each has an adz which he uses as a tool of all work, it is made for him by his father or *paternal uncle*. The lime gourd and stick, which a boy uses for preparing betel for chewing, are also made and given to him by his father or by his *paternal uncle*, the net bag, which he uses as a carryall, by his mother or his sister. Indeed the following case shows that they are prevented from manufacturing tools. Mes and Mar decided to make a canoe together. They cut down the tree and began hollowing it out under the direction of Nambomai, a river native who was working for me. When War heard what these two boys were doing, he forbade them from continuing the work. He said that they were not old enough. As soon as War was out of hearing, Mar and Mes protested that it was none of War's business and that they were not going to obey him. They worked on the canoe one more day and then gave it up. The canoe was never finished. Adolescent girls, on the other hand, are expected to produce tools. They make net bags both for themselves and for their brothers. They carry out the entire process, stripping the bark from the proper tree, preparing it, rolling it into thread on their thighs, and netting it; women's bags are voluminous, men's smaller. Adolescent girls also make bark-fiber fishing nets.

These economic activities are all in some way associated with the satisfaction of hunger. It would be inaccurate, however, to assume that these customs are maintained by this drive alone, for sex also plays a part in impelling Kwoma

412 [482] The stone adze is the most all-important tool and is usually carried about over the shoulder wherever a man may go. Other tools are a haftad hardwood pestle for crushing sago pith, pig's tooth scrapers and engraver, 323 bird bone needle, bamboo knife, coconut shell dipper, etc. Pottery is made 286 by the coiled method without kick. Net bags are made from bark string. There is 285 no basketry. A rectangular engraved wooden shield or an oval pigskin 714 shield is used in war. A pointed bamboo spear is used for hunting both 411 heads and pigs, the cassowary bone dagger for a hand to hand struggle.

291 301 Clothing for both sexes is nil. Ornaments consist of feathered plumes, bamboo combs, nose plugs of dogs teeth or bamboo, shell necklaces, and plaited leg and arm bands.

304 Both sexes have their ear lobes pierced but not extended, and the septum pierced. The alae of men are usually pierced in addition. Both sexes are cicitrized with a bamboo knife, the men have two half moons cut just above each nipple, the women a circular design around the navel. [821] (Boys are initiated into manhood by having their tongues and penises slashed.)

836 584 The only restriction to premarital sexual intercourse is that it is carried on as a sort of intrigue unknown to the parents. The girl takes the initiative in this as she does in the proposal of marriage. (This does not include infant betrothal which takes place in only part of the marriages).

848 847 845 In the case of an illegitimate birth, the child is adopted or killed. One of twins or a monstrosity meets the same fate... There is bride price, patrilocal 583 591 marriage, patrilineal decent, polygyny.

611 595 There is a cult of all adult men, whose esoteria are carved and painted 794 figures, the blowing of sacred flutes and the beating of gongs. There are [532] two progressive stages to this cult. The first step of these is either [534] miniama or yenama; half the youths being introduced into one, and half into the other, placement being determined partly by patrilineal inheritance and

648 that he was not a big man but a "monki nothing", and he couldn't look out
464 for the place. Kar had said, "All right, Maski, you think me no big fela man," (All right, never mind, you think I'm not a big man) and the next day had delivered an ultimatum that no one was to go with Bob. Just before Bob left, he had confronted Bob and asked him if he still thought him "something nothing", and Bob had answered somewhat ironically--"No, you're a big mari" (woman). Kar has spoken of this episode three times now, and it evidently rankled strongly.

123 Kar said that War had told him that I had come to visit him yesterday
574 and had said that if I were "black skin" he would have given me a lot more food, but being a white man, he didn't know whether I would like it or not, and had been afraid to offer it to me. He had been a bit worried whether I had thought him ungenerous and had asked Kar his opinion of the matter.

123 February 5, 1937. I went down to Way's in the afternoon. He had a pain in the testicles and sent word that he would like some medicine. He was sitting on the porch and explained about his pain. His wife, who was standing holding her child (4months) also explained about his pain, pointing to his testicles while he was holding them up for inspection.
[334] There was no embarrassment on the part of either. I gave him an empirin
[372] tablet. They were burning a palm frond bundle and also a heap of coconuts. The house was full of smoke.

[286] Then I went to War's house. His wife was sitting on one porch making
[361] a net bag with her daughter. War was on the other porch. The houses
[252] almost touch and are directly facing each other. War was boiling sago, and he gave Mar some food. A storm came up, so all of them moved into the next porch. War stood near the edge scowling, spitting, and mumbling. May also spit and mumbled.

114 Watakaup came in the afternoon with an invitation to come to Ambunti. I think I'll go.

April 22, 1937.. It was raining this morning, so I decided not to go to Ambunti but sent Mar and Mee to get kerosene, flour, etc. I went down to [284] War's to look at his house. The whole family was at home. The women were sewing mat bags, as well as War who was sewing a bag. His was working a wafe ngaga from afosamp bone. Kar was lying on a bed sick.

I went up to the house tamberan to get its construction. Way was shaping the outside of a gong, but the mosquitoes drove me home. I sent 836 Owiyap and Mey to wash clothes. Owiyap came back full of excitement about Gwanta. He had seen her on the way, and she let it be known she wanted to have intercourse with him. He bribed Gwanta with 2 razors, one for him and one for her, to come and tell him when she next went down to get water so he could meet her there. He said he was going to ask her to come and sleep [593] with him at Wisep's house in his "klambu". She had suggested it the other night but her father had forbade her.

This afternoon he put on Mar's singlets and a brand new orange "lap lap" and went down the hill. He stayed all afternoon. Tonight he said he had called at Way's house. Gwanta and her mother were there--they sat and talked. She was sitting on the bed, and he asked her if there were plenty of "nats nats." She said yes. Then he told her if they bothered her too much to come up and sleep in his mosquito net. She said she would. Gwanb who was also there, said he would come too, but Gwanta said no--how many people do you think the net will hold. Mar remarked that she did not call him by his name and that she told him not to go with me but to stay.

Division of Labor

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Women catch fish, make net bags, gather firewood, fetch and carry water.(The latter two occupations are taboo to men, i.e., they are unmanly.) Men make spears and arrows, and wash sago pith.(If a woman washes it and it is then eaten by a man, he will die). Both men and women hunt with bow and arrow and spear, besides doing garden work. In addition women do the cooking.

Cordage manufacture

283 [192] The bark of the wɔhisɨ tree is peeled off in short strips (one to two feet long). These strips are beaten on a stone with a wooden beater (an ordinary stick about two inches in diameter and a foot long). This breaks and looseens the outer shell of the bark and leaves the fibrous inner bark. It is then put in the sun to dry for a few hours. Next it is separated into small fluffy tufts. The tuft is rolled downward on the thigh with the palm of the hand. Another is similarly prepared and the two are rolled down the thigh separately but with the same motion of the hand. The hand is then brought back and the two are rolled together in the opposite direction. During this last movement the hand is twisted so that the index finger rather than the palm effects the twining. Two tufted ends are left over to which new tufted pieces are added and the process is continued.

Twine dyeing

386 824 Twine is dyed by fastening one end of the twine to the big toe and rubbing a raw berry held between thumb and finger back and forth over it. The berries used for dye are from two trees, kɨsɨndɨfɨ and nowɨ, the former producing a dark blue color and the latter an orange red. Men plant [245] the nowɨ trees near their houses by inserting the fruit in the ground with a digging stick. The Germans brought the seeds of this to Ambunti and it [177] was brought to the Hongwem through Yambon. (Yambon is a river tribe). Before [178] this the red dyeing was done with red clay.

286 386 The net bags worn by women and used for carrying are made from twines dyed red and blue, as well as from natural colored twines.

Ornaments

301 Basic to the ornaments worn is a netted base (aswkaf) onto which shells
286 are tied and sewn with bark string. The netting is from 4 to 11 rows wide,
287 narrowing on the ends. (Two of these net bases are required in bride price).
192 [583] Shells, yesi (small cowrie shells) and asfmangfrf (larger ones), obtained
[439] by trade with the River people, are used for decoration in addition to their
[436] function as money.

The figure below, an ornament called nf nasfkf (crocodiles head) is made from shells attached to the net base.

[562] An ornamented net bag for men worn only on ceremonial occasions is
[796] decorated with clam shell rings (amfngurf), shell ornaments (wanyivf), yesi, asemangfrf and lofu wafd (small turks heads made of wicker work).

[561] There are various types of hair ornaments which are privilege marks
[703] for the various age-grades; others are distinguishing homicidal insignia. The long tail feathers of the bird ofparadise (mapo) are the most highly prized for ornamentation. They can only be worn however by a man who has
[858] killed a man or woman (taken a head) from another place. Children can wear gouris pigeon and cockatoo feathers, and wooden combs, but not the mapo.

301 A kind of plaited work covers one wooden 3-pronged comb. The comb is
[561] only worn by those who have passed the second age grade ceremony. The white
301 plume (not the tail feather) of the bush fowl (afo foku) is attached
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301 Nǒ̃ubali is a four row knitted ornament made with yasi shells.
286 The band increases in worth as further projections decorated with shells
237 are added to it. These projections are worn pointing up.

Nǒ̃ubarí is an ornament worn suspended from the neck, made from a net base and covered with yasi shells. It resembles a necktie. The
[435] value of this ornament is about 2 shillings.